

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave Blank)	2. REPORT DATE August 1983	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED  Final		
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE  Annotated Bibliography: Open Sources on Africa		5. FUNDING NUMBERS		
6. AUTHOR(S) LaVerle Berry, Kate Bullard, Rita Byrnes, Eunice Charles, Steven Cranton, Nancy Drexler, William Eaton, Naomi Greer, Robert Handloff, Mary Louis Harmon, Greta Holtz, Linda Lau, T. Robert Lenaghan, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, Patricia Rigsbee, Rachel Warner				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)  Federal Research Division Library of Congress Washington, DC 20540-4840		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER		
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)  N/A		10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER		
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES  Prepared under an Interagency Agreement		19960827 055		
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT  Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.				
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)  An annotated bibliography of open sources received. Entries on strategic military, political, and economic topics are included. Published monthly until September 1984 and quarterly thereafter.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS  Africa--Sub-Sahara      Government Military affairs      Politics Economy		15. NUMBER OF PAGES  Various lengths		
		16. PRICE CODE		
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT  UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE  UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT  UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT  SAR	

**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

August 1983

Prepared by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress  
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### PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in July 1983)

AFRICA GENERAL

Cordasco, Michael F., Jr. United States Policy Options in the Western Indian Ocean. Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School, June 1982.

Examines the western Indian Ocean from strategic, economic, and political points of view. The author suggest that the United States needs to develop a coherent policy toward the western Indian Ocean which does not single out a specific country but which looks at the area in regional and global perspectives.

Hill, Christopher R. "Regional Co-Operation in Southern Africa." African Affairs, April 1983, pp. 215-39.

The most recent example of regional cooperation in southern Africa is the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). The purpose of this organization is to build on and expand existing economic links without interfering with the sovereignty of each member state. The establishment of the SADCC in 1979 was meant to free southern black Africa from South African economic domination. It is not yet evident whether the SADCC will adopt a primarily agricultural or industrial strategy. The organization is plagued by internal inefficiencies and interstate political problems, and its exact relationship with South Africa is still ambiguous.

"Non-Aggression and Defense Assistance Agreement Between Member Nations of the CEA0 and Togo." African Defense, May 1983, pp. 56-62.

Presents the official articles and protocols of the Non-Aggression and Assistance in Defense Matters Accords which join all Francophone West African countries except Benin in a common defense treaty. Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, and Togo also are members of the CEA0, which links them together economically.

"Soviet Power Projection on the African Continent." African Defense, May 1983, pp. 70-72.

An update of a 1981 article on Soviet aims and capabilities on the African continent. Soviet arms sales and personnel in African countries are discussed, but detailed information for specific countries is lacking. Soviet penetration into Angola is cited as the watershed which has permitted growing Soviet influence.

de Tonqudec, General. "Equipment and Deployment of Airborne Troops: The French Approach." African Defense, May 1983, pp. 64-69.

Basic information about the French intervention forces and the Kolwezi (Zaire) operation which is considered their greatest success. Information focuses on men and material.

ANGOLA

"Angola--The Forgotten Occupation." FOCUS On Political Repression in Southern Africa (London), November/December 1982, p. 12.

Since 23 August 1981, the start of "Operation Protea," two SADF brigades numbering 5,500 men have occupied a large area of southern Cunene Province, Angola. This fact has been overlooked or ignored in large part by the international community. In August 1982, the SADF used this area as a base for deeper incursions into Angola. According to Angolan sources, UNITA troops have been incorporated into the ranks of South African forces occupying Ngiva and Xangongo. The SADF continues to use this area from which to carry out bombing raids and reconnaissance flights over southern and central Angola.

BOTSWANA

Harvey, Charles, ed. Papers on the Economy of Botswana. London: Heinemann, 1981, 276 pp. Reviewed in Journal of Contemporary African Studies, vol. 1, no. 2 (1982), pp. 378-81.

A collection of fifteen studies on all major aspects of Botswana's economic infrastructure. According to the reviewer, although the studies are somewhat advanced and technical, this book "is essential reading for anyone interested in the economy of Botswana."

CHAD

Fontaine, Andre. "L'Eternal Safari (The Perpetual Safari)." Le Monde, 12 July 1983, pp. 1 and 3.

A history of French involvement in Chad which emphasizes Libya's role as "spoiler" of France's half-hearted initiatives. Goukouni is considered pro-Libyan from the start, and President Mitterrand is chided for denouncing the United States in one breath and being forced to supply arms to anti-revolutionary forces in another.

Lanne, Bernard. Tchad-Libye: La Querelle des Frontiers (Chad-Libya: The Frontiers Quarrel). Paris: Karthala, 1982, 255 pp.

A detailed description and analysis of the long-standing and far-from-resolved crisis concerning Libyan claims on what is generally considered part of Chad's territory. Libya's juridical claims to the Aouzou Strip are rejected by the author. In addition, Libya's actions reject the Organization of African Unity's cardinal principle of the inviolability of frontiers established by the colonial powers. The "secret" treaty which supposedly took place between former Chad President Tombalbaye and Colonel Qadhafi is seriously doubted.

ETHIOPIA

Shlosser, Wolfgang. "Tra l'Incudine e il Martello (Caught in a No-Win Situation)." Nigrizia (Verona, Italy), February 1983, pp. 8-11.

This article outlines the areas in which the standard of living has been significantly improved in Ethiopia since the beginning of the revolution.

The price paid for these advances has been heavy, however. All aspects of life now come under the scrutiny of the urban gebele or rural mahaber agriculture associations. The foreign debt is immense and the economy is falling into ruin, eroding the initial successes of the revolution. Although Mengistu appears to be in firm control, expressions of discontent are bound to increase, particularly among the youth. The ranks of unemployed school graduates is growing rapidly. These young people have rejected the traditions of their rural past as demanded by the revolution, but they are not finding the benefits promised to them in a socialist system.

#### GHANA

"Ghana: The Implications of June 19." West Africa, 11 July 1983, pp. 1602-05.

Discusses the political situation in Ghana after the attempted coup d'etat of 19 June 1983 and the changes which have occurred since then. States that the failure of the coup underscores the broad popular support for the PNDC, the ruling military administration of Jerry Rawlings.

Shipman, Tony. "Ghana: The Boakye Djan Factor." New African, July 1983, pp. 12-14.

Examines the recent activities of Major Boakye Djan, the leader of the exiled organization Campaign for Democracy in Ghana (CDG) and Jerry Rawlings' former deputy during the administration of the AFRC. Chronicles the past coup attempts against the Rawlings regime and discusses the activities of the CDG in relation to accusations of CIA involvement in the attempts to topple the current government.

#### KENYA

"Kenya: Moi's Education." Africa Confidential, 8 June 1983, pp. 1-3.

Analyzes the current domestic political situation in Kenya, attempts to determine who the real power brokers in Kenyan politics are, and speculates on the outcome of the upcoming general election. The political crisis which has been escalating since the August 1982 coup attempt only stands an even chance of being resolved by the general elections.

Onim, Radiala. "The Njongo Affair." New African, July 1983, pp. 22-23.

President Moi's recent announcement that there is a traitor in the government and that national elections are to be held in September--more than a year early--has caused an uproar among politicians. This article gives an account of the announcement and events and indicates that Minister of Constitutional Affairs Charles Njonjo is the traitor Moi had in mind but declined to name.

#### LIBERIA

Pearson, Bryan. "Liberia: Bumpy Return to Civilian Rule." New African, July 1983, pp. 38-39.

Discusses the present situation in Liberia and looks at the upcoming 1985 elections. Briefly lists possible political contender during the return to civil rule and reviews the economic factors which may have a determining factor.

MALI

"Focus on Banda's Malawi." Africa News, 16 May 1983, pp. 6-9.

The death sentence pronounced on former Justice Minister and Attorney General Orton Chirwa and his wife on treason charges has focused world attention on Malawi and its leader, Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Three major exiled movements, including Chirwa's Malawi Freedom Movement (MAFREMO), are seeking change in Malawi's leadership. The leader of a second movement was recently assassinated in Zimbabwe. Banda controls Malawi's affairs completely, but there has been no preparation for a successor to the 87-year-old leader. Malawi's close ties with South Africa are economically based, as well as a protection against the threats which Banda perceives from Tanzania and Zambia where his enemies have sought refuge.

MOZAMBIQUE

"Mozambicans Hope for Change." Africa News, 6 June 1983, pp. 7-10.

Eight years after independence, Mozambique faces drought, war, and a stagnating economy. The recent Fourth Congress of FRELIMO focused on these grave problems and emphasized changes which include realistic planning and increased support of small projects and peasant agriculture. The economic problem is centered around the lack of middle level cadre to organize and stimulate development; inexperienced officials compound the problem by falsifying figures and alienating workers. Party members further alienate the population by obtaining special privileges and basic necessities which are denied to ordinary citizens. The MNR, although a menace, has not attempted to build a political organization to challenge FRELIMO. But the most important sources of popular dissatisfaction are food and goods shortages. The government has responded by taking stern measures against military and economic saboteurs.

NAMIBIA

du Plessis, T. A. P. "Die Ontwikkeling van die SWA Weermag (The Development of the South-West Africa Defence Force)." Militaria (Pretoria), vol. 13, no. 1 (1983), pp. 28-34.

Captain du Plessis presents a history of the South-West Africa Defense Force from its origins under South African supervision in the early 1920s to today.

"The Washington-Pretoria Axis: A Sinister Collusion Against Our People." Namibia Today (Erfut, GDR), vol 6, no. 3 (1982), pp. 14-17.

SWAPO's leadership condemns "US imperialism" and US-South Africa cooperation in and exploitation of Namibia.

NIGERIA

Nwabueze, B. O. A Constitutional History of Nigeria. London: Hurst, 1982. Reviewed in Current History, 10 May 1983, p. 310.

A cataloging of the laws, acts, decrees, and edicts which for the last 130 years have determined Nigeria's legal system. The author's analysis of

constitutional instruments gives insight into the various political influences and events described in this book.

Viaud, Pierre. "Nigeria's Nuclear Capability and Aspirations." African Defence, May 1983, pp. 52-54.

Discusses Nigeria's role as a military and industrial leader among African nations and its capability to finance and test nuclear weapons. Examines internal political conditions, foreign policy considerations, international disarmament, and Nigeria's role in a multi-polar world.

#### SENEGAL

"Senegal: President's Election Victory." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-31 March 1983, pp. 6767-74.

A lengthy compilation of facts and figures on the Senegalese political scene which focuses on the recent overwhelming victory of the Socialist Party under President Abdou Diouf. Opposition parties are listed and discussed as well. Senegal is lauded for its democratic aspirations, and its actions are heralded as an example for other African countries to follow.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

"Casevac! This is How the SADF Cares For Its Soldiers." Paratus (Pretoria), May 1983, pp. 6-8.

An overview of SADF medical support personnel and facilities in the Border Operation Area in northern Namibia. Forty doctors, each serving 3-month tours of duty, are scattered throughout the area. Some of the medical staff are located at military bases while others are "in the bush."

"Northern Natal Call-Ups Signal: 'Total Involvement' Now!" Paratus (Pretoria), May 1983, pp. 12-13 and 37.

Describes a 5-day training camp organized for volunteers to the Northern Natal Commando unit. The camp, based at Vryheid in Natal Province, is a prototype for similar camps to be held throughout the country. This article underscores the importance of these new volunteer Commando units to South Africa's defense.

Pahad, Aziz. "Apartheid Terror: How Pretoria Wages War on Africa." Sechaba (London), March 1983, pp. 21-28.

Despite the large amount of standard ANC anti-South African rhetoric, this article contains some interesting statistics concerning South Africa's "destabilization" activities in Southern Africa. Special attention is given to the various SADF incursions into southern Angola. The author is very critical of US and UK support of South Africa.

du Plessis, Jan A. "Soviet Blueprint for Southern Africa." Paratus (Pretoria), May 1983, pp. 20-21.

Dr. du Plessis, "a political consultant and commentator," asserts that the Soviet Union has "clearly defined objectives" in southern Africa. By citing



major Soviet publications and speeches by the Soviet leadership, du Plessis sees Soviet support for the ANC, SWAPO, and the SACP (South African Communist Party) as an effort to destabilize the region further. Soviet policy is directed against pro-Western governments throughout southern Africa.

Prudnikov, Alexander. "A Reliable Partnership." Asia and Africa Today, no. 2 (March-April 1983), pp. 29-32.

This Soviet author asserts that relations between Israel and South Africa, more than cordial now, are deeply rooted in the past. He points out the similarities between Boer and Jewish settlement colonialism and their corresponding struggles to gain independence from Britain. The alliance between these two countries grew out of a number of factors, including Israel's need for allies in Africa after the rupture of diplomatic relations with nearly all African countries in 1973 and South Africa's need to expand military cooperation. The Carter Administration, the author concludes, did not want openly to supply South Africa with weapons, and thus assigned this task to Israel.

Tambo, O. R. "We Must Organize Ourselves Into A Conquering Force." Sechaba (London), March 1983, pp. 2-10.

The text of ANC President Tambo's 8 January 1983 speech before the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress marking the 71st anniversary of the organization.

Venter, Al. "Africa's Russian FIREPOWER." Eagle, April 1983, pp. 38-41.

A detailed article about the usefulness and capabilities of captured Russian equipment being used by the SADF. The primary source of information for this article is SADF Colonel Des Radmore, "a specialist in guerrilla warfare." Colonel Radmore's prime role reportedly is "to evaluate much of the weapons, equipment, and ammunition which was taken by South African forces in their cross-border raids into Angola." Radmore discusses the strengths and weakness of each major piece of equipment. The author hastens to point out that since South Africa is under an arms embargo, this captured equipment makes the Soviet Union South Africa's principle foreign arms supplier.

"What You Should Expect." Supplement to Paratus (Pretoria), 1983, 7 pp.

An official brief description of what servicemen should expect to find and do after being called up for duty. Chapter titles include: "When You Arrive," "Your First Few Days," "What You Should Take With You," "What You Should Expect After Basic Training," "Benefits," "Basic Pay," etc.

"Your Guide to National Service." Pretoria: Personnel Division, South African Defence Force, September 1982, 24 pp.

The official SADF information bulletin on national service obligations. Describes the Defence Amendment Act of 1982. Contains numerous wire diagrams of the SADF, Citizens Force, and Commando Force. Also has a question and answer section concerning national service.

TANZANIA

"Tanzania's Socialist Safari is Lost in the Bush." Economist, 11 June 1983, pp. 84, 87-88.

During the 1970s, Tanzania's economy stagnated and during the past 3 years, economic decline has accelerated rapidly. The author concludes that Nyerere's attempt to create a uniquely African form of socialism has ended in failure. Nyerere believes the economic decline is the result of the country having been lured into investing in large-scale, import-dependent industries at the expense of agriculture. Others blame Tanzania's agricultural policies as well. Tanzanian leaders are now making policy changes in the direction called for by the IMF, but the author fears the pace is too slow, and it will be years before output responds.

UGANDA

Klein, Stefan. "Kleinkrieg, der von Optimismus Lebt (A Guerrilla War that Lives on Optimism)." Sueddeutsche Zeitung (Munich), 18 January 1983.

The author reports on the Uganda Freedom Movement following a meeting with its leader, Andrew Kayiira. The guerrilla group's goals, capabilities, relations with the National Resistance Movement, and attempts to obtain foreign aid are described. At present the guerrillas do not appear capable of overthrowing Obote. Klein concludes that if they did succeed, Uganda would face the same security problems it does now, only with different groups being repressed by the new leaders.

"Uganda: Unending Blood." Africa Confidential, 8 June 1983, pp. 3-7.

Obote appears to be succeeding in bringing the guerrilla problem under control, and the economy is improving. Security problems are now almost entirely the result of violence on the part of members of the national army. This article analyzes why the army is out of control and what needs to be done to change the situation. It is suggested that the security problems may be fortuitous for Obote because they overshadow the dominant political problem--exclusion of the Baganda from the government. For the President the dilemma now may be that the longer the army problem continues, the greater the chance he will be pushed aside by a military strongman; the sooner internal security and the army are controlled, the sooner he will have to accommodate the Baganda.

"Ugandan NRM Leader Speaks." New African, June 1983, pp. 21, 23.

According to the National Resistance Movement's (NRM) number two man, Eriya Kategaya, the guerrillas are doing well in their war against Obote and the Ugandan army. In this short interview, Kategaya explains the movement's goals, how it is going about achieving them, and how the NRM would form a nationally representative government if it were to succeed in ousting Obote. He claims there are areas liberated by the NRM and that the movement has an "effective presence" in a area of about 4,000 square miles.

UPPER VOLTA

"Upper Volta: Postponing Marxism?" Africa Confidential, 8 June 1983, pp. 7-8.

According to the article, it was the French Government which initiated the ouster of Prime Minister Thomas Sankara; however, the French failed in their overall objective to end his influence. In a compromise measure, President Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo agreed to take the military out of politics; he was also forced to permit the left to express itself. Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny also had a role in Sankara's fall from power, since Ivory Coast considers Upper Volta in its sphere of influence and is certain to be a future source of influence and money against a resurgence of leftist power.

ZAIRE

Diallo, Siradiou. "Zaire: La Crise Est-Elle Finie (Zaire: Has the Crisis Ended)?" Jeune Afrique, 6 July 1983, pp. 32-35.

For 10 years, all reported statistics and studies have described a country which is failing and which suffers from a severe shortage of all basic goods. Crime has made the capital city, Kinshasa, the most dangerous in Africa. In former times, all imports had to come through the central bank for distribution, and exports were well controlled. Today, there are no constraints on either exports or imports. The state overlooks this unmanageable state of affairs; the flourishing black market is even quasi-official. Despite urging by international financial institutions that Zaire centralize its economy, "liberalism and liberalization" have become Zaire's passwords as previous attempts at centralization have failed to revive the economy. Mobutu has decided on a policy of free enterprise and has assigned Kengo Wa Dondo to supervise the process.

ZIMBABWE

Peel, J. D. Y. and Ranger, O. T., eds. Past and Present in Zimbabwe. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1983, 120 pp.

A series of eight essays on various changing aspects of Zimbabwean society. Topics of interest include the role of local chiefs in administration; problems in changing the colonial legal system; results of the 1980 election in specific areas; and the critically important problems of land resettlement and redistribution.

"Zimbabwe: The 'Zero Hour Plan'." Africa Now, April 1983, pp. 45-47.

The author is very critical of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's handling of Joshua Nkomo and the ZIPRA dissidents in Matabeleland. Despite claims that the armed forces were dispatched to Matabeleland to take care of the dissidents, this article accuses the Harare government of using this as an excuse to attack all ZAPU personnel; their objective reportedly is to establish a one-party state without ZAPU. The ZANU hierarchy is portrayed as "paranoid" and involved in a "witch-hunt." In addition, Army Commander General Rex Nhongo reportedly wants to demobilize all former ZIPRA members of the National Army—"some 13,000 soldiers, a third of the total."